Another
fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ́k; 2) bark bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofŏ́); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power: the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayŏ́t) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become ... green as the lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Drawings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kābŏ́d, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe, especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, akăn owŭnŏ.

As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text./ The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
524 riddle:

ongo´n	o	nga	be´ĭ	a	fă´	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the
bonĭe´:	akĭ´	avŏk	a	kŏke	bŏn	avu´m
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fu´n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (ažǒ́n); Solanum dinklagei U. D. (oyṓla); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ažǒ́ń ntǎ́ngan = ažǒ́ń, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (ǯṵm IV, enĕ́m) with three varieties: niǎ́ ǯṵ́m = true ǯṵ́m, ntúma I, and ndzēi′ -ǯṵ́m, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etūi′ -ǯṵ́m from etūi′ - Solanum duplosinuatum U. D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (ǯṵ́m e mvĕ́lḗ, that is, ǯṵ́m of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fŏ́lŏ́m [?], ebū́nĕ́gán); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fŏ́lŏ́m IV, fŏ́m IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osím); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asŏ́b); Plectranthus spec. (avǎ́), afún; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elĕ́lǎ́nge, Ntum; elǎ́ngelǎ́nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (myū́ IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231 435

231 as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). [435]
Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from
231 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the
552 characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǫ̌no (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǫ̌n (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǫ̂nō (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondō′ (?, man's name); ntōde-abǎ̄n (single otter, woman's name); mfū′mežǫ̌k (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎ́n (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obǭ′nǫ̌ (from obǭn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olŭ̄n (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǭ′nenǫ̌n (one who always lies on the bed); aji′žǫ̌k (a jī′ = to yearn, žǫ̌k = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angŭ̄n (dog's bell); odzǎ′m (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū̄t (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name
556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [269] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǫ̌′le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǭma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role.

232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion.

231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfū's IV Fang, esi'nă), very recently introduced from the coast.

231 177

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [435] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

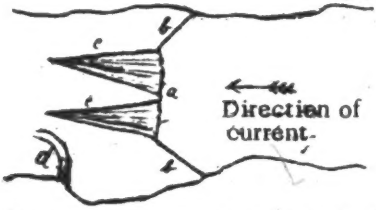

Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 435] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

224 672 682 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kiñ e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ ñã), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyũ a ngã III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũẽ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

● [435]

1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

252 435 484 Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engū́nă-mbǒ́m).

252 484 484 257 As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engù́nă-mbǔ́n.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osā, -mbǔ́n, ngŏ-mbǔ́n IV).

252 A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dzǎ́[s]-mbǔ́n).

[252] 484 These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engū́na-mbǔ́n. They are used in the same situations.

[1] [i.e. cassava roll. -- Analyst.]

329 [353] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [804] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwāk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [804] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 531] legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

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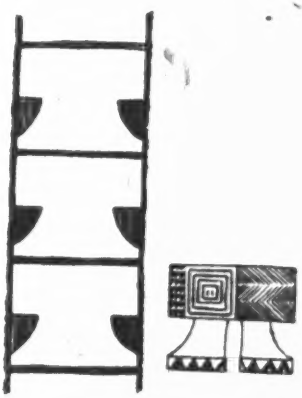

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

[463]

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

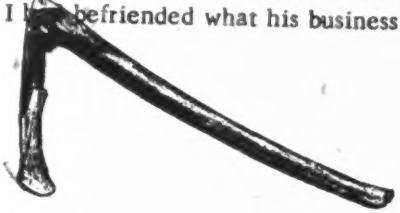

Fig. 173. Adz.

4. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. [438] /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Woddo and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Uelle, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of 325 abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the 789 rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a • 435 special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /225/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (bĭăń akūă, abŭb-akūă) (1) costs five sheep,

1. bĭăń = medicine, akūă = iron smelting, abŭb = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

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Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okṇ̀n) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezi̇zö'ǹ), and poison (nsu̇̀). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o si̇̀ = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

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[435]

[824]

[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

325
791
422 material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.
[438] These pieces (epfús-ekīei) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfū -ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325
435 A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting
434 of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

325 789 824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kɔ̌lɔ̄́t IV Fang, kɔ̄̌t IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlăt I) (1). The

> a lắ-t, "unite," hence nlăt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lắ-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elɔ̄bokūī), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkă-ndžĭk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (myĭfĭ'n IV Fang, myĭpfĭ'm IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afɔ̄nɔ̌k). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 835 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngɔ̌p[d]ɔ̌ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

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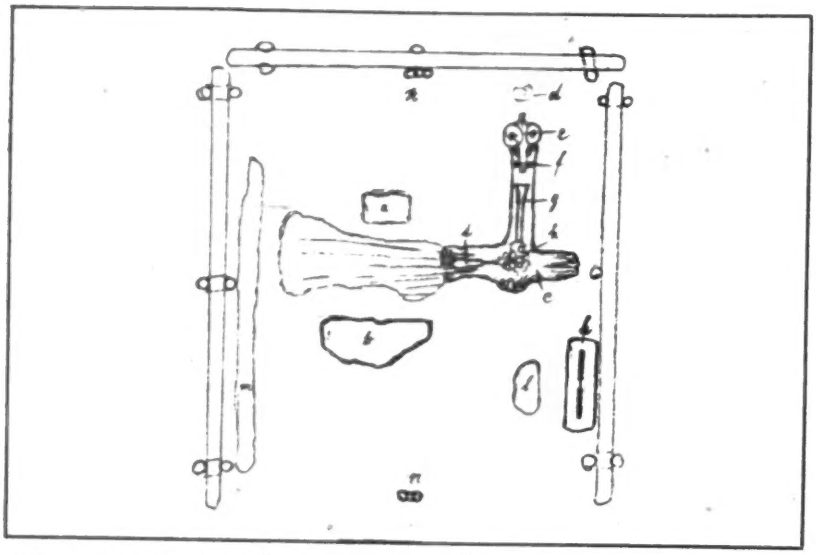

Fig. 186. Groundplan of a Smithy in the Village Okö, Ntum Region.

(a) Smith's seat; (b) smithy stone, anvil; (c) smithy pit; (d) bellows worker's seat; (e) bellows; (f) sticks to hold the bellows; (g) blast pipe; (h) charcoal; (i) handle; (k) talking drum used as seat; (l) stone, mainly for whetting the cutlass; (m) trunk, seat for spectators; (n) ridgepole.

325

2. Small forging iron (edū), Figure 187, Drawing 2, used for spear blades, and so forth. (Value, 50 spears or 3.50 marks.)
3. Handle (abí from bí, "to grasp"), a simple iron rod widened toward the end to a slightly spatulate form, attached to a wooden grip. It is held against the iron glowing in the fire and welded with it so that both /237/ /Fig. 186 appears here in the original text/ can be taken out together. While the iron is being worked, the end of this handle merges with the forged object and must therefore be made anew each time after it is used, that is, it must be widened by pounding it at the end.

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, depending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the [531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text./

323 435

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekŏn, vūŏk; plural lŏ́k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vūŏk). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbĕ I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akăń e mvé) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text./ Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

424 because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the
759 intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply
461 not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of
payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers,
[435] to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return
for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures
that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status,
759 authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as
554 experienced and skillful persons (akón, i.e., "skillful"). Only
754 those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give
this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by
means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to
practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects
that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery,
i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

754 We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/
[753] that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need
to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly
malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symp-
toms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/
and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible.
At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear
picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to
get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison
with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what
extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in
our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of
these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal
illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the
physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength
in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Sec-
tion 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

583 The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money) alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone; 436 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation 435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	--. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage [848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar- 578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when 583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of 583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has 584